

The University of Chicago

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL
CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA
1757-1931

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION

1933

By

CHANDRA DHARMA SENA GOONERATNE

Private Edition, Distributed by
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PART ONE

THE VILLAGE CULTURE OF INDIA

Summary

We have seen in Part One¹ how India has always been an agricultural country, a land of villages where even the cities are but overgrown villages. The life of the village folk was centered around the village and its activities, and their effective interests ceased with the boundaries of the village. These villages were organized into self-contained and self-sufficient miniature republics, in which the whole of the administration rested on five of the village elders, chosen by a democratic vote of the inhabitants. There seems to have been no restriction whatever imposed upon these yearly elections. In the villages caste distinctions coincided with occupation, and all occupations were organized into guilds, from priest to sweeper.

We have also noticed that the cultural and religious loyalties of the people outside their own primary groups, i.e., among members of the same village, were secondary and very vague. Those who shared in general the Hindu ideas, ideals, and views of life, seem to have had a vague sense of kinship with others throughout the land. Similarly the Muslims appear to have had a feeling of kinship with other Muslims outside the immediate village. Here, however, the kinship was much stronger because of the socially democratic nature of Islam.

In addition to these two vague feelings of kinship, we have observed a religious-cultural feeling of kinship between Hindu and Muslim, created by the sharing of common ideals and practices, which was largely developed by the shuttling to and fro of holy men, wandering hermit-poets, philosophers, and ascetics toward whom the people responded alike.

Then we have also observed that the influence of the feudal lord over the mass of the people of India was merely nominal. Feudal conflicts between lord and lord, or between conquering invaders and their opponents, appear to have disturbed the village life of the country very little. Age-old custom and the mores of all the peoples prevented the disruption of the village

¹This reference is to the preceding sections of Part One in the complete dissertation, which is to be found only in the University of Chicago Libraries.

organization and of the life of the village people by such happenings. Thus the tiller of the soil and the artisan were left undisturbed and unaffected by the ebb and flow of invasions and military exploits.

We now come to the next phase of our study: the inquiry into the forces that entered the land and began to affect profoundly the views, ideals, and loyalties of the people of India, developing in them a consciousness of nationality.

PART TWO

EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

Our object here is not to seek the why and the wherefore of Britain's coming into India, or to analyze the causes which led to the downfall of the Great Mogul Empire, but rather to discover the elements that contributed toward the development of a national consciousness among the people of India, beginning with the establishment of British rule there. We have already seen in Part One that there was no such consciousness among the peoples of India prior to the British control of the continent.

The mind of man grows as a result of healthy conflicts and also by the cross-fertilization of ideas. India, at long intervals in the past, has experienced the benefits of such conflicts through her various invaders, but, on the whole, those conflicts were either too violent to be effective or failed because of their weakness.

The Moguls, who were the immediate predecessors of the British, did make an effective impact during the early stages of their invasion and conquest. The impact was too violent at first, but later, especially during the long reign of Akbar the Great, Islam and Hinduism approached a state in which each had begun to influence the other profoundly.

But the greatest stimulation which India had ever witnessed or experienced came with the advent of the British. This point marks the proper beginning of this study. We have already discussed in Part One the village life of the people of India and their cultural and feudal interests and loyalties, but it will be necessary here by way of an introduction to Part Two, to get a picture of the political and economic conditions of the country on the eve of the advent of the British.

I. Political Conditions on the Eve of Britain's Entry into India

India had seen some invaders come, conquer the land, and adopt it as their own motherland. She had witnessed the swift departure of others after a brief and successful career of plunder.

She had pondered over the rise and fall of many empires within her own domain. The last of these, and the mightiest of them all, the Mogul Empire, having reached its zenith had begun to crumble. Unmistakable signs of decay and dismemberment had already become manifest, beginning with the reign of Aurungzeb (1659-1707), who by his bigotry and intolerance had sounded the death knell of the Empire that Akbar had built.¹

Local governors and viceroys, both Hindu and Muslim, had begun to establish themselves as absolute heads of their respective provinces. Rebellion was on the horizon. Political instability was the order of the day. Antagonistic ambitions and fierce rivalries between the various feudal lords for power had broken up the country. About this time, the emperor, Jehangir, was trying his utmost to arrest the break-up of the Empire and avoid the impending disaster. All evidence goes to prove that India at this point was politically weak, but we find her economically prosperous and industrially active.

Europe had been attracted already to the Orient, which, to most Europeans meant India. Both the exquisite products of her cottage industries and her natural resources tempted Europe's commercial interests. There were stories of her fabulous wealth, the evidence of which was the demand which the markets of Europe were making on her goods. The fortunes which those who were handling these goods as middlemen were amassing was a further proof of India's wealth and was also an added reason, to Europe's commercial adventurers, for establishing trade relations with India. India's cotton goods, silks, rubies, pearls, shawls, and above all her spices, which were used by Europeans in those pre-cold-storage days both to savor their food and to preserve their perishables, were the coveted articles of trade. Most of the maritime powers of Europe coveted this lucrative trade, and each power was hoping to secure a monopoly from the Arabs who were then the carrier nation which controlled the Mediterranean trade. Thus we see that it was India's wealth that attracted Europe to her. The Portuguese and the Dutch were followed by the French and the English.²

¹S. M. Edwards, Mogul Rule in India, p. 5.

²R. C. Dutt, Economic History of India Under Early British Rule, pp. 100, 105, 110, 415.

We have already observed the political instability of the country within its own borders. This condition was rendered infinitely worse by the advent of the various maritime European powers before a new domestic alignment could be made. Competent authorities hold to the belief that the Maratha power might have grown until it was strong enough to replace the Mogul power, had not the British been there on the spot at this particular juncture in a most advantageous position to grow into a political power before a new native alignment had time to materialize.¹ In the quest for gain and in the attempt to secure an exclusive monopoly of the lucrative Indian trade, each European group resorted to every conceivable and unscrupulous way, "careless of honour and treaty, careful only of gain,"² to secure on one hand favors and concessions from the various feudal lords, and on the other to arrange alliances, by gifts and bribes, among the Indian feudal lords themselves as aids against their European competitors. Again, we find these European powers taking sides in feuds between the lords, in their feverish desire to outwit a fellow competitor. All this rendered the already disturbed political situation frightfully unstable.

English merchant adventurers with national backing had come to India before 1616. But the most successful of them all was Sir Thomas Roe who left England in 1614 and reached the court of the Great Mogul Jehangir at Ajmere in January, 1616. Roe came not only as a commercial ambassador with a national backing, but also as a special ambassador from King James of England. He came with a supply of appropriate gifts, seeking commercial concessions and permission to establish trading posts, in which mission he was successful. His efforts materialized in the establishment of an English factory at Surat. Gradually trading posts and other factories were established elsewhere along the coast.³ Thus Britain came to have her first secure foothold in India. From this humble beginning she has grown to be the paramount power in the country.

Political disturbances and uncertainties are not conducive to trade. The British were in India for trade and not for con-

¹Annie Besant, India, A Nation, p. 8.

²Ibid.

³An Indian Mohammedan, British India, pp. 5-6.

quest, at least during the early stages. Some of the pioneers, the most outstanding among them, seem to have been definitely opposed to a military conquest, although those who did dream of an empire were not wholly absent.¹ But whatever the wishes of some, over against the dreams of others, the historical fact remains that Britain did come in the course of time to control the whole of India and became both directly and indirectly instrumental in stimulating in India a national consciousness which in turn has produced a political consciousness.

II. Influences Which Stimulated the Development of a National Consciousness

We shall now proceed to discuss the way in which a national consciousness among the people of India was stimulated. In discussing the agencies that were instrumental in arousing a national consciousness, we shall not go into an evaluation of the merits and demerits of such agencies, either from the many British points of view or from the many Indian points of view. For example, we shall refrain from going into the controversial question of whether India would have benefited more had the administration adopted an Indian language as the official language, or whether the adoption of English has been more beneficial in the long run. Our object will rather be in the direction of seeking the agencies, whatever they happen to be, which have been directly or indirectly instrumental in stimulating a national consciousness. Or, to take another example, we are not here interested in discovering whether the establishment of railways in India has increased her poverty or enriched her. Our object is to discover the influence of the introduction of railways on the development of a national consciousness, not whether they were devised and have been maintained as a military necessity at India's expense. Neither shall we go into a detailed discussion of the multitudinous ramifications of some of these major agencies, for that would carry us too far from our field of study. We shall discuss some of the following major agencies in the light of our background, as discussed in Part One, and to follow their influence and effects on the life and thought of the people of India. Of these agencies,

¹Sir Francis Younghusband, Dawn in India, p. 49. Savel Zimand, Living India, p. 32. Ramsay Muir, The Making of British India, p. 36.

the use of the English language is the most important. Hence we shall first discuss how it came to be adopted as the official language.

It is India's pride today that she has had two of the greatest universities of all Asia, Taxilla and Nalanda, in the centuries gone by. We know of no such institutions of learning during the rule of the Moguls or after, until we come to comparatively recent times.

The only institutions of learning that seem to have existed when the British began gradually to extend their sway over India were the village schools. Sir Thomas Monroe, one time Governor of Madras, speaking in the House of Commons on April 12, 1813, bore testimony to the fact that in India there was a school "established in every village for teaching reading and writing and arithmetic."¹ With the disappearance of India's village industries, which we shall discuss later, and the break-up of the Indian village as an economically and politically self-sufficient unit, India's village schools also disappeared.

Our object in this study, however, is to see how the new system has influenced the growth of a national consciousness in India. It may, however, be necessary to say a word or two about how English came to be adopted as the official language.

As the business of the East India Company grew with its military successes and temporal gains, the demand for Indian clerks, copyists, and interpreters who had a knowledge of English grew in proportion. About the same time, the higher officials had begun seriously to consider adopting an Indian language as the official language of the Company. The interest here was the hope of being able to meet the people directly in order to facilitate the administration of the country. English, however, won over the adoption of an Indian language chiefly for the following reasons:

First: English was the language already used.

Second: Indians were more apt at picking up languages than their British officials. They displayed no reluctance to learn English, but on the contrary were eager to acquire the language as a direct means of acquiring Western knowledge which they had now begun to desire.

¹Max Müller, India, What Can It Teach Us? p. 62.

Third: Reluctance on the part of subordinate officers to learn a "heathen language" against which they were prejudiced as they were against the heathens' religion, and also their inaptitude at learning languages.

Fourth: The multiplicity of the Indian languages in the country.

Fifth: The practical and immediate need at the time for interpreters, copyists and clerks to help the British subordinate officers.

Sixth: They had come to Westernize, and certainly to Christianize, the heathen land. This naturally could be accomplished better by getting the heathen to learn the language of the tutor.

These and other minor considerations won for English the right of way through the energy and enthusiasm of three outstanding personalities. First, Alexander Duff, the missionary who pleaded before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1835 on behalf of education in India because, as he explained, "every branch of sound general knowledge which you inculcate becomes the destroyer of some corresponding part in the Hindu system."¹ Later Duff came to be known as the man who drew up the Magna Carta of Indian Education.² The second personality, Macaulay, who has come to be looked upon as the Father of English Education in India, wrote in 1835 in his famous Minute on the Educational Policy of the Government of India, "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and color but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." The third personality was Lord William Bentinck, who as Governor General of India from 1828 to 1835 had declared that the "object of British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India," and went on to add that this might best be accomplished by spending the funds that had already been appropriated for the purpose of education on English education alone.³ Missionaries have taken an enthusiastic hand from the very beginning in the spreading of education. They also seem to have favored the adoption of English as the official language. Their

¹John McKenzie, Christian Task in India, p. 867.

²Ibid., p. 169.

³Besant, op. cit., p. 78.

interest was primarily in evangelizing. Raja Rammohan Roy, the first great Indian social and religious reformer and nation builder, also provided an impetus through his influence. But whatever the motives were, whether to Westernize and Anglicize, or to evangelize, or the thirst of the Indians themselves for Western knowledge, or a combination of all, English came to be adopted as the official language.

A. Influence of the Use of English in the Administration
as a Factor in the Development of a National
Consciousness

Ideas travel faster, chances for misunderstanding are reduced, co-operation is rendered more effective by the use of a common medium of expression. We see how this has worked in the welding of the British Isles which created Great Britain. The same might be said of the early American Colonies which have become the United States of America. Of course we do not claim here that language was the only factor in this process of the welding of peoples; what we wish to state here is that the use of a common language was one of the major factors. Again we do not imply either that only the English language and no other could have accomplished it.

In India, the existence of scores of languages and hundreds of dialects has helped to preserve local isolation. In the main, Indian languages are divided into two large groups--the northern and the southern. Linguistically, they are divided into Aryan languages (derived from Sanskrit) and Dravidian languages. Into this setting, especially in the Muslim half of India, the Moguls brought Persian and Arabic, which has given India Hindustani. Hindustani is a mixture of Persian, Arabic, and the North Indian languages, and was the army language of the Moguls as it is today the language of the Indian army. With the converts to Islam during the Mogul period when Persian was the court language, Arabic had taken the same place as Sanskrit with the Hindus. Hence Muslims conducted their prayers in Arabic pretty much as Hindus conduct theirs in Sanskrit. But for ordinary purposes, these two large communities spoke the vernacular of their respective provinces, irrespective of their religious beliefs. For example, Hindus and Muslims in Bengal spoke Bengalee, as those in Madras spoke Tamil, and those in the Mahratte country spoke Mahrati. Into this general setting English was introduced as we

have observed.

The use of English in the administration made many effective inroads on both village and provincial cultural isolation. In some cases the walls of isolation were broken, in other cases they were expanded until they began to take in larger and larger areas and now include the whole of continental India. This, naturally, was accomplished by many agencies which we shall proceed to discuss.

First, the transference of British officials from one place to another was a significant factor. Although some of these men did not know the various languages of the provinces to which they were transferred, yet their knowledge of the people and their ways, habits, and outlooks not only helped them to solve their administrative problems but made them disseminators of those very things. Unknown to themselves, they were silent but effective bridge-builders between the various groups of the people. To mention one thing in particular which has come about in this manner: the army of British officials continually being transferred from place to place, has been instrumental in spreading all over the country the various forms of salutations. Thus greetings that have been characteristic of certain provinces have become national by official patronage and insistence.

Often officials when they were transferred took with them their Indian retinue, Indian subordinates, office help and household servants whom they knew and understood and toward whom they not infrequently felt affectionately drawn. Thus these people became interpreters and bridge builders, quite incidentally and in a quiet way, weaving an invisible web linking the peoples of the various provinces together. Later, as the administration increased in volume and as the Indian Empire began to expand in size, Indians themselves began to occupy various positions of responsibility, and began in turn to be transferred from place to place like the higher British officials themselves. This further helped to break up India's cultural isolation. The old joint family system where the boys bring their wives to the parental home and continue to live as before, with the parents remaining as heads of the family, began to break up under the needs of the new day. When these young men found occupations in other provinces their first instrument of contact within the new province was through English. Thus we find the English educated Indians coming

gradually to share a common medium of expression all over India through English, while to this day most of them have remained ignorant of each other's languages, save their own vernacular and perhaps those of their immediate neighbors.

Then there seem to have been many other angles to this process of infiltration and the break-up of the cultural isolation of the village and the province as the need for more subordinates with experience, and also for new jobs in the work of the East India Company increased with its new territorial acquisitions. The older and more experienced hands in the consolidated areas, as well as the young and adventurous element of the said areas, who had taken opportunities to equip themselves with the necessary English qualifications, left their traditional villages and provinces, in which their forefathers had lived and died, in quest of gain, success and adventure. Some of these men naturally took unto themselves wives from the households of these new areas and began to establish their homes in their adopted provinces. This is one of the ways (later of course commerce played a great part) by which so many typically and traditionally Bengali names have migrated into the Punjab, the area that came under British rule much later than Bengal.

The whole of this process coupled with the inducements of commerce and other opportunities have become progressively active with the transference of the rule of the East India Company to the Crown in 1857 and the developments that have taken place since in the land. It will not be necessary for us to take up some of the other numerous ways by which the official use of English has induced a getting-togetherness of the Indian peoples save perhaps the influence of the English language as a medium of instruction and as an instrument of contact with the outside world and its interests and activities. These we will discuss next.

B. The Use of English as a Medium of Instruction in Schools,
and as an Instrument of Contact with the Outside World,
Becomes a Factor in the Development of a National
Consciousness

Here, too, our objective is not to inquire into the history of the various stages of the development of English education in India, but rather to inquire how the use of English as a medium of instruction was an aid to contacting the outside world and helped to develop a national consciousness.

A Jesuit priest is reported to have said, "Give me a child for the first seven years and you can have him after that." Modern India is a perfect example of this. After English became the official language, it being also the language of the new and powerful rulers, it gathered a prestige all its own. The upper classes who were socially and economically at an advantage to make the best of the meagre facilities that were available, seem not to have neglected their opportunities in this respect. To be able to read and write and speak the new language promised not only economic advantages in the way of new jobs and handsome salaries, but also a new intellectual prestige carrying with it a corresponding social prestige in the eyes of the new rulers, as well as in their own circles, with the result that we find in 1843 out of 8,200 scholars attending 51 schools and colleges scattered through the country 5,132 were studying English. Furthermore, in 1844, Sir Henry Hardinge ordained that preference in government appointments should be given to those who had received a Western education.¹ Both these factors were additional stimuli on the one hand to parents who could afford to provide their sons with an English education, and on the other hand it made the young men more and more ambitious in the direction of not only the opportunities that were now theirs in their own land, but also of acquiring the knowledge of the West which had now come to be looked upon as the highest attainment.

We have seen in the earlier part of this Section how the English language came to be adopted as the official language and the primary objective of the two pioneer educational agencies, the missionary and the Government. The former had as its primary objective the conversion of "heathen" India to Christianity. The latter had two primary objectives, to train subordinates to aid in the administration and to Anglicize India so that her people, while remaining brown in skin, would think and act like Englishmen.²

We shall now see what the effect was on the thought and life of those who came under the influence of the work of these

¹P. K. Shah, "Education and National Consciousness in India" (Unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Chicago, 1928), p. 49.

²F. S. Marvin, India and the West, p. 83; T. B. Macaulay's famous Minute on Education, 1835.

two agencies.

It will be unnecessary to go into details about the numerous major and minor influences which these two outstanding pioneer educational agencies were having on the minds of the youth, but we shall, however, discuss some of the major influences.

Because of the scarcity of these schools, combined with the expense, hardships, and the sacrifices involved, only the well-to-do naturally were able to take advantage of them. They were at the same time the cultured, from the Indian point of view, the well established and obviously the far-seeing, so we have here a selective group. This fact accounts, as we shall see later, for the fact that Indian nationalism became articulate first with the upper classes, and then they in turn became the voice of the inarticulate masses, thus becoming both the cause and the effect of the spirit of nationalism.

Then again, due to the scarcity of English schools, expense, hardships and sacrifices that were involved, the well-to-do from a number of surrounding villages would send their boys to the same school, boys who prior to this new era went to their own old-fashioned village school. Of course there were also in pre-British days instances where a handful of young men from different parts of the country would go to some revered and famous scholar-saint, but that was solely for the study of the sacred scriptures and the imbibing of religio-philosophic knowledge. Furthermore, this only involved the education of a mere handful of youths which was a negligible experience in the life of the people compared with the new order of things which began to bring scores of youths out from the narrow domestic walls of a village life. We see here a beginning of a process which, as facilities for the extension of that education increased, began on the one hand not only to loosen cultural barriers and prejudices of individual village groups; but also to widen their cultural interests, enlarge their social sympathies, and progressively stimulate their minds and ambitions, until it began to take in the whole of the province, and later the whole of India.

We see this process considerably heightened as we come into the era of demand for more and better educational facilities, beginning with the Great Charter of Indian Education by which the Government of India, which was still under the East India Company, accepted the full responsibility for the education of the people

of India. This responsibility was again reiterated in 1859 when the Crown took over the administration of India from the hands of the East India Company. This reiteration on the part of the Crown in turn marked the beginning of the establishment of Indian universities in 1857, beginning with the Calcutta University on January 24th, Bombay on July 18th and Madras on September 5th.¹

Now the effects of all this progressive Western education (we are using the word "progressive" in a conservative sense, meaning that improved educational facilities were on the increase rather than on the decrease, although it has never been in any way adequate either to meet the needs or the demands at any time, then or even now) on the Indian mind were many. The chief effects were:

First, it brought the younger generation together in a common quest, in some respects breaking up their respective cultural isolations, and in other respects softening social prejudices and taboos to the point of ineffectiveness, thus providing the setting for larger groupings, broader outlooks, which in turn began to develop a cultural togetherness in aims, outlooks, sympathies and loyalties. This process became considerably heightened with the cultural contact the knowledge of English gave the young intellectuals with the outside world.

In addition we find the students going past the educational objectives of the missionaries and the government, and taking more seriously to the quest of acquiring a wider knowledge of the origin and development of Europe's social, economic, national, political, religious, and philosophical evolution.² Hence we begin to find them reading extensively European writers both directly and indirectly through the aid of English translations. We shall discuss this phase in our next section. We do not, however, indicate here that all this might not have filtered into India had India adopted one of her own languages as the official language. Rather, what we wish to point out is that all this material filtered faster and more effectively and over a larger group because of the fact of the adoption of English as the official language.

¹Besant, op. cit., p. 89; Shah, op. cit., p. 56.

²Besant, op. cit., p. 93.

C. The Influence of European Literature and the Writings and Lives of European Nation Builders, Indian Exiles, and Friends of Political India as Factors in the Development of National Political Consciousness

We have already observed that the young intellectuals of the day had gone past both the objectives and facilities that were provided in the early days for the acquiring of Western knowledge in India itself. Next the vogue was not only to read and study the development of the Western world in all its phases, but also, where possible, to actually travel there and see and study these on the spot. Stimulated by a powerful incentive of that kind, with the additional stimulants of social, cultural and economic prestige that awaited the European trained Indians on their return to India, taboos of leaving home and crossing the dark waters began to gradually give way. This particular phase of taboos on travel abroad we shall not discuss here, because we shall do so later in connection with the influences of transportation.

Hence we find the young intellectuals delving deeply into continental and British literature, but particularly the latter.

One of the most popular of Western liberal political writers was John Stuart Mill, of England. His two volumes, Representative Government (1861) and Essays on Liberty (1869), were the favorite works that found their way to the bookshelves of almost every young Indian intellectual, says Sir S. Bannerjea. It may be of interest for us here to mention some of the utterances of John Stuart Mill that appear to have become household phrases in intellectual India. Phrases such as, for example, "A Government of a people by itself has a meaning and reality; but such a thing as a government of one people by another does not and cannot exist," and where you find such a phenomenon in existence there "one people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit." Then again Mill's definition of an ideal Government as being one in which the "sovereignty or the supreme controlling power in the last resort is vested in the entire aggregate of the community" in which every citizen not only has a voice in the exercise of that sovereignty, but also plays an actual part in the government,

however small or occasional that may be.¹

We might quote these by the score, but we might with profit mention one other name whose writings became as popular as those of John Stuart Mill. This was Mazzini. "The purity of his patriotism, the loftiness of his ideals, and his all-embracing love for humanity"² and his achievement of Italian unity appear to have been the things that were profoundly influencing the young intellectuals of the day and the future leaders of India. It is needless to say that their studies extended to both the builders and founders of nations in the Western hemisphere, and the methods and techniques they had adopted to achieve their goals.

We find that Britain herself had come under the sway of John Stuart Mill's democratic, liberal, political idealism, and others after him. This development extended to the Indian field and began to express itself in a great desire to improve the conditions of the Indian peoples,³ and in severely criticizing the ethics of British rule in India.

The sympathy of the British nation toward India was aroused by a host of others, the outstanding among them were Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke.⁴ The way the official of the East India Company had, in the words of Burke, "tossed about, subverted, and torn to pieces, as if it were in the gambols of boyish unluckiness and malice, the most established rights of the most ancient and revered institutions of ages and nations"⁵ seems to have bruised the hearts and outraged their sense of justice, fair play, and common decency, judging by the words of condemnation they used to express their resentment in censoring the rule of the Company.

How bitter some of these champions of liberal political thought felt about the "rapacity of the English adventurers in

¹I. N. Topa, Growth and Development of National Thought in India, pp. 82, 83; John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government, p. 53.

²Sir S. Bannerjee, A Nation in the Making, p. 43.

³Topa, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴Ibid., p. 39.

⁵John Morley, Burke, p. 131.

India and the Imperial crimes of Hastings"¹ can be grasped by the strong language they used in condemning both the system and guilty individuals.

These critics were practical idealists. "Surely," said Sir William Jones, "the principal object of every government is the happiness of the governed." Another, Charles Gant, is reported to have said that "whatever diversity of opinion may have prevailed respecting the past conduct of the English in the East, all parties will concur in one sentiment, that we ought to study the happiness of the vast body of subjects which we have acquired there."²

It is not necessary to dwell at length on this point. Examples may be cited by the dozen, including the trial of Warren Hastings to illustrate the tremendous influence British liberal thinkers and their writings had come to exercise over British rule in India. We see that through these men Britain, herself, had become the severest critic and censor of her own doings in India, and this process has come down to the present day, so that while the present struggle in India is mainly with the British, we find that some of the most stalwart friends of national and political India also hail from Great Britain.

These liberal idealists and critics in their own way and as individuals extended their criticism into the purely Indian field, too. Although the government had given the people of India definite assurances that they would not in any way interfere with the peoples' customs and ways and their religions, very early these liberal idealists began to denounce several of the more conspicuous social ways and religious practices, such as the institution of caste, that from their point of view, had divided India against herself into unhealthy, mutually exclusive, "air-tight" groups; innumerable superstitious beliefs and practices; worship of idols and other expressions, which they felt were retrogressive. A good many of the critics in this field were naturally first, missionaries; second, administrators; third, travelers; and lastly, those in Britain and in the Western world generally who read the writings and observations of the first three groups.

It is not to our advantage here either to discuss in de-

¹Topa, op. cit., p. 38.

²Ibid., p. 41.

tail what these criticisms were, or the objects of those who were responsible for them. What is most significant in these influences for our study is the fact that through the knowledge of English all this material, all this idealism, and the developed political technique both to execute such ideals and combat their opponents, became the property of the young Indian intellectuals.

Closely allied with these stimulations were the writings of Indian patriots from exile, although their influence became greater after the mutiny. For example, the book called Indian War of Independence, was written showing the Indian side of the mutiny and portraying the "atrocities" the officials of the East India Company in their reckless haste to get rich had perpetrated in India. The book claims that this reckless haste to get rich was the sole cause which led to the catastrophe of 1857. This book and other similar literature written by those exiled, both by the East India Company and later by the Crown, have been steadily increasing. Other such books were added to this list, written by friends of India--American, British and continental--whose numbers have been steadily increasing to the present day. The fact that these writings were proscribed by the Indian Government only heightened the desire on the part of the young intellectuals and later the young nationalists and political leaders to read them. The writer remembers vividly the demand made on a copy of Indian War of Independence by the Indian students at Oxford. Before one student had finished reading it there were a dozen waiting for it. As near as the writer can remember, it was the only book some of the Indian students stayed up all night to read through at one sitting, so that another could have it the following morning.

Since then more books have been written on this same order. Two recent books that have been proscribed by the Indian Government are Dr. J. I. Sunderland's (an American) book, India in Bondage and Colonel A. Osburn's (a British Medical Officer who had served in India) book, Must England Lose India?. The writer discovered copies of these two books with almost every Indian student he met or knew in London in 1930.

There is another factor closely related to the critical attitude of the Britishers themselves on the Indian administration, namely, the influence of the Western scientific outlook and method. We shall discuss this in the next section.

D. Western Science as a Factor in the Development
of a National Political Consciousness

The scientific method and outlook is no respecter of persons or cultures. After a fierce struggle in Europe, the land of its birth, and having won its way at least into the minds of a large percentage of European intellectuals, it made its advent into India through the accidental agency of the British and their language.

In India, for obvious reasons, the intellectuals were its first converts. Apparently the scientific outlook and method presented no fundamental obstacles to them, since behind all certainties of individual experience, which have found a definite place in India's outlook, we find that in the background of all religio-philosophic idealism the intellectuals have always had an agnostic view of the ultimates of the universe. We also find that even those who emotionally respond to the universe in subjective terms as religious poets, and lovers of the phenomena that have produced the world, yet intellectually and philosophically respond to the same phenomenon in impersonal terms. Again underneath all this there has been what has now come to be known as a "relentless search after truth."¹ A thought that has come down from the distant past as a prayer is "Lead me from darkness into light, from ignorance into knowledge." These reasons, perhaps more than any others, made the minds of the intellectuals eagerly receptive to the objective, impersonal view of life and the world that the scientific attitude and method presented to them. Furthermore, their chief difficulties seem to have been largely social taboos and inhibitions, outgrown social ways and religious practices, views of life derived from unproven metaphysical theories, all of which had gathered a sanctity not so much by their effectiveness in producing healthy results but rather by the sanction of age and usage.

The scientific outlook, which is in itself a relentless search after truth, with its method had penetrated into the holy of holies in Europe, and had unearthed the humble beginnings of

¹Prof. Radhakrishnan, Hindu View of Life.

the sanctified and treasured things of the religious heritage there--tracing them to man's ever changing and ever increasing needs, which were the dominant factors in his development. The devotees of this new outlook had begun to write the histories of their religious and social institutions, biographies of their Gods, both dead and alive, as accurately as the histories of their political institutions and the biographies of their rulers. These men gradually began to extend their field into the Oriental hemisphere. For our purpose the outstanding man to carry the scientific quest into the Indian field was Max Müller, the great philologist who was the editor-in-chief of the Sacred Books of the East Series. (There were, of course, others before him.) All this material, its method of approach, procedure, and outlook became in turn the proud possession of the young intellectuals of India.

E. New Social and Psychological Interactions between the New Rulers and the Indian People Becomes a Factor

Our discussion of the new stimulations that India has begun to experience directly as a result of the establishment of British rule will not be complete without a reference to the new social and psychological interactions and conflicts that also ensued between the new rulers and the people. To be clear we shall have to get an idea of the kind of men who came to India as founders of the British Indian Empire, some of the things they did and the way they lived in those early days. In this inquiry, however, we are not interested in blaming or praising or excusing because of new climatic conditions and the absence of the steady influences of home ties, or consoling ourselves in the thought that they might easily have been worse, nor is our object to prove that such characters and such behavior were not to be found in India itself, among the Indians, but rather to discover if their conduct did or did not influence the Indian mind in the development of a national and later political consciousness.

We have observed earlier in this study that the pioneers of the East India Company were primarily adventurers who came seeking commercial gain. From the accounts left us by British historical writers themselves (all of which also became the property of the young intellectuals of India) we learn that they were "not the best Englishmen" but were "rather the contrary." Men

who were the "more desperate ne'er-do-wells--those who could not make good in England. . . . many of them were evidently the sort who would boast that for them at least, and particularly East of Suez, 'there were no Ten Commandments,' men who made much unscrupulous haste to get rich whose vices and cruelty made them hated even in England."¹

A contributor to the Calcutta Review, writing about those early British pioneers of 1845, wrote:

They who came hither were often desperate adventurers whom England, in the emphatic language of Scripture, had spued out; men who sought the golden shores of the East to repair their broken fortunes, to bury in oblivion a sullied name, or to wring with lawless hand, from the weak and unsuspecting, wealth which they had not the character or capacity to obtain by honest industry at home. They cheated, they gambled, they drank, they revelled in all kinds of debauchery.²

Sir Thomas Roe, who in 1615 was sent by King James of England as his Ambassador to the Court of the Emperor Jehangir, has also described for us the status of a young English nobleman descriptive of the type of early British pioneers. "A young gentleman about twenty years old, the brother of a Baron of England, being unruly at home, as so many others that have been well born, when their friends knew not what to do with them, have been sent to East-India, that they might make their own grave in the sea, in their passage thither: or else have graves made for them in the Indian Shores when they come there."³

A report to Parliament written as late as 1830 states that "nothing can be more striking than the scorn with which the people have been practically treated at the hands of even those who were actuated by the most benevolent motives."⁴ Another, Mr. Kohn, writing about the attitude of the British toward the Indians, said that it was an arrogance "known to no other colonizing nation." Both Dr. Sunderland and Mr. Savel Zimand seem to agree that the treatment of Indians by the British, was "quite as unsympathetic, harsh and abusive as was ever seen among the Georgia

¹Colonel Arthur Osburn, Must England Lose India?, p. 271.

²H. A. Stark, Hostages to India, p. 20.

³Ibid.

⁴Dutt, op. cit., p. 414.

and Louisiana planters in the days of American slavery minus lynchings."¹

A recent writer after surveying the history of that early period of British history in India has remarked in his closing words about the Company's rule that "by 1858 the crimes of the Company so smelled to heaven that the British Government took over the captured and plundered territories as a colony of the Crown."

What is most significant to us in this study about the early history of the builders of the Indian Empire is not an enumeration of what they did, which might easily fill volumes, but rather the effect of such conduct on the Indian peoples, and especially on the thought and lives of the young Indian intellectuals of the day, the future leaders of the peoples, as they saw and heard these incidents narrated to them, who were at the same time getting steeped in Western liberal political thought and idealism.

Unfortunately the reactions of those early Indian intellectuals are not available to us because of the severity of punishments meted out to those who voiced their disapproval of the methods and the governing principles of the administration. Deportation, life imprisonment, confiscation of all property were the penalties administered to those who in any way disturbed or helped to disturb the Company's rule. Sir Henry Cotton, a high official of long experience under the Company, declared that the Indian Government was as complete a bureaucracy as the Russian Government was under the Czar and was as autocratic in its methods in dealing with the people as it was reactionary in spirit, and as determined to keep all power and advantage in its own hands.²

It is legitimate for us to suppose, in the absence of concrete instances of reaction to all this from the Indian side, that the resentment was more silent than expressed, felt more by the more sensitive elements of Indian society than was made articulate. Colonel Osburn, a medical officer who had spent years in India, writing in 1930 has given us some graphic descriptions of personal experiences and observations. Out of the scores of

¹J. T. Sunderland, India in Bondage, p. 376; Zimand, op. cit., p. 73.

²Sunderland, op. cit., p. 482.

cases he has illustrated, we have chosen one from Egypt and one from Burma and the others from India. We have chosen the first two not because they have any direct bearing on India but because they help to show that such incidents were not confined to India and as such are indirectly important.

Furthermore, we have chosen these advisedly, although they are rather long, because of their very important significance for our study. Moreover, by the occurrence of these incidents within such recent times (not more than ten or twenty years ago) we can easily conceive what might have occurred in those early days of recklessness and irresponsibility. The writer, knowing the Indian temperament as he does, feels inclined to think that most writers on British Indian relations are inclined to overlook this aspect. The importance of the primary face to face contact, the nature and the by-products of that contact, between a Britisher and an Indian cannot be over-stressed. We shall now quote those cases:

- I. A somewhat similar dispute had occurred at the village of Denshawai, in Egypt. Denshawai became famous--it would be better to say infamous. Two British officers started shooting pigeons close to the village of Denshawai. The owners of the pigeons came out from the village and objected. The officers apparently resented this, and during the argument with these 'natives,' one officer fired and wounded one of the Egyptian women. This, though almost certainly an accident, naturally made matters very much worse. The other officer, getting alarmed at the attitude of the villagers, ran away into the open country; his body was found some time afterwards without any sign or marks of violence; it was fairly clear that he had died from sunstroke, combined with the effects of fright or over-exertion in the tropical heat.

In revenge for this officer's death, the English authorities permitted seventeen of these Egyptian villagers to be either hanged, flogged, or transported for life! To make matters worse, the wives and children of these wretched men were compelled, according to the official account, to witness the hanging of their fathers and husbands.

Many eye-witnesses of this miserable crime are still living in Egypt; and yet Englishmen profess to be surprised that so many Egyptians never want to see an Englishman again. Perhaps some Egyptian poet has written a new version of 'Lest we Forget.'¹

- II. I was the culprit myself. One day driving a pair of ponies along a narrow road I saw approaching me a bullock wagon driven by a Burman.

¹Osburn, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

Being in a hurry I did not feel inclined to draw up, and continued to occupy the centre of the road, on either side of which was a steep declivity leading down into swampy rice-fields.

I was going at a good pace and the Burman, seeing that I had no intention of yielding any road-space, tried to draw up on the extreme edge.

But the incline was too steep and his wagon somewhat too-heavy. As I passed him his bullocks flinched and started. The next moment I saw the wagon with its occupant rolling down the declivity into the rice swamp. As it rolled the broad awning of matting and bamboo was crushed, and I heard screams mingled with the sound of broken crockery.

Rather appalled at the result of my selfishness I pulled up, and sent my Burmese groom to inquire what real damage had been done.

Apparently there were four women and a child in the wagon. The child was comparatively unhurt, but the women were, from his description, injured.

Telling him to hold the ponies I went back myself. As far as I could make out the women were very badly shaken, possibly they had some internal injuries. The pole of the wagon had snapped, one of the oxen had broken its leg, and the whole of the household utensils of the family, who were moving from one village to another, were smashed.

The head of the family, the driver, had escaped with some bruises and a bad graze on one of his legs.

I expected to be received with a very surly demeanour, for obviously I was to blame, and the Burman was only a very poor cultivator. To my surprise I was met with civility, almost with a smile as he limped towards me. He evidently considered it a great mark of condescension that I had stopped to inquire about the damage.

As well as my broken Burmese would permit, I suggested that I might help to make good the damage, which I estimated at the very lowest could hardly have been less than £4, an enormous loss to a Burman in that position in life.

The man shook his head deprecatingly at the suggestion.

I returned to my ponies and, after discussing the situation with my Burmese groom, I sent him back to the Burman with thirty rupees (about £2), telling him to tell the Burman where he could find my bungalow should he think better of his refusal, and allow me to pay for the rest of the damage.

My groom, however, returned with the money. The Burman driver had smilingly refused to take anything, suggesting that the accident was largely his own fault.

I remembered as I listened that night in the Mess to the usual tirade against Orientals, and the frequent references

to the Burmese as 'insolent and seditious swine,' that I felt I ought to have stuck up for them.¹

III. One night I was wakened by a native messenger who mistook me for the Orderly Medical Officer for whom he had been sent from the hospital. I informed him that I was not the Captain Smith he had been sent for, and pointed out where he was sleeping. Presently I heard a whispered conversation followed by loud grunts of annoyance from Smith's bed; coupled with very forcible injunctions addressed to the messenger to 'clear out.'

A little later, judging by the noise, the messenger had evidently returned, and again roused Smith's anger by bringing a note from a Nursing Sister urgently summoning him to the hospital. This time the unfortunate native, who was a regular Indian hospital messenger, was evidently too persistent, for, leaping out of bed, Smith seized the man's stick from him and proceeded so to belabour him that most of the members of the club who were sleeping out were awakened by the man's cries.

The next morning in the club, Smith, a hot-tempered but amusing man, described how some 'damned fellow' had come worrying round in the night and he had given him a jolly good hiding for his trouble.

I do not remember that anyone expressed disapproval; such an incident was sufficiently common to be soon forgotten by most of those who heard of it.

Such exhibitions of temper are not always confined to the men. I remember an officer's wife laying about her Indian groom with a whip because, having given him a somewhat complicated order in not very intelligible Hindustani about the disposal of some parcels, she thought at first from his report that he had left them at the wrong house; an inadequate knowledge of Hindustani on the lady's part, and a hatred of 'natives' being at fault throughout.

Women on occasions in India can be even more bitter and vindictive over the failings, real or imaginary, of the Indian than their husbands; although in spite of the large number of English women of all classes and of all shades of discretion who travel alone in India, it is extremely rare to hear of any of them being insulted or in any way molested by Indians.²

IV. A number of Europeans were detraining at a small Indian railway station.

Each of us having tents and other heavy baggage to send up to his bungalow had instructed one of his servants to procure a country cart for the purpose.

That evening, to my annoyance, neither my servant nor my baggage had arrived at my bungalow. At the Mess, Brown, an

¹Ibid., pp. 67-69.

²Ibid., pp. 84-86.

officer, told me he had given a 'native' a good thrashing at the station for disobedience, and that he had heard afterwards that he was my servant. He explained that the man was cheeky. 'He was sitting on an empty wagon which I wanted, and actually refused to get off.'

I told Brown that the man had only been obeying my orders in taking the wagon and retaining it for me. Brown said he was sorry, but he 'never allowed a native to argue the point, and that in any case as he did not understand Hindustani the 'mistake' was inevitable.

I was indignant. Brown had been a long time in the country and I did not think the excuse particularly good. On my return to my bungalow that night I found the Hindu servant in question had been carried home injured, and was in a cellar where my servants slept. I found the man, or boy rather, for he was not more than seventeen, in a grave condition with two of his ribs broken and covered with bruises. He confirmed Brown's story. He had told him that the wagon he was sitting on had been procured at my express order, and that I had forbidden him to give it up to anyone. But Brown had refused to listen to him, knocked him off the wagon, kicked him severely, and left him apparently unconscious.

Astonished, I questioned the station-master and a number of others who had been present. It was clear that the boy had merely continued to say the wagon was already taken for another Sahib. He had not been cheeky, but had given my name as the officer for whom he had taken the wagon. The boy was fragile, even for a Hindu. I doubt if he weighed seven stone. Brown was one of the biggest men in the district and weighed probably thirteen or fourteen stone.

At lunch-time the following day, fearing the boy might die, I mentioned the matter to the Senior Officer who was mildly sympathetic. 'It's unfortunate it happened to be your servant, but Brown is an efficient officer if a bit hot-tempered; and after all there are plenty more of these niggers, and I daresay he will be all the better servant for having had a good hiding.'

Nobody seemed to think much of the incident; the only thing they regretted was that I was inconvenienced by the loss of my servant.¹

V. At one time I was stationed in a fort in one of the principal cities of India and was frequently driven to my work outside the fort by K., a brother officer. He was a good fellow, but like many Englishmen in India, had developed an irritable, ungovernable temper, especially in his dealings with natives.

K. was usually even later for breakfast than I was, and to save time he would generally, though it was contrary to regulations, drive out by a narrow road which was reserved only for vehicles entering the fort.

¹Ibid., pp. 57-59.

This road, cut through the high grassy mound or glacis outside the fort, had banks faced with brick on either side. It was so narrow that it was almost impossible for two vehicles to pass. Almost invariably we found it blocked by incoming hay-carts driven by natives who had orders to enter by this road.

K., after a hurried breakfast, very much afraid of being late on parade and a bit liverish from the night before, was generally in a bad temper. His fury would literally know no bounds when we found our progress impeded, as we often did, by the hay-carts entering the fort. It was just possible by forcing the native carts hard up against one wall for us to pass.

The Hindu drivers of these hay-carts were of the ill-fed and less intelligent type common in India. They usually failed to respond sufficiently smartly to K.'s furious orders to clear the road, shouted at them in broken Hindustani mixed with English oaths.

Enraged at what he called their stupidity, K. would slash at them wildly with his whip, hitting them over the head and face or anywhere he could reach.

The poor wretches, who were more or less in the right when we were obviously in the wrong, would cower from the blows, or screaming with excitement leap from their carts and dart away, leaving the road a jumbled mass of bullocks and hay-carts. The bullocks, unattended by their drivers and feeling K.'s lash, would swing violently round in the road, sometimes upsetting their loads. So, generally speaking, our morning exit from the fort was somewhat hectic.

I used to implore K. to 'go a bit easy'; usually it was no use. What made it so much the worse was that not only were the wretched Hindus whom he slashed so vigorously almost naked except for a narrow loin-cloth, but that besides them, seated on the hay, and almost equally scantily clothed, were their womenkind and often small children and babies.

The lash of K.'s whip must have cut many of them across the face and breasts, and perhaps have even injured their eyes. Sometimes a child would roll off from the top of the hay in the excitement, and generally this exhibition of ill-temper was so disgusting, that each morning I used to vow myself I would never go again.

But alas for human frailty! Morning after morning I would find myself late at breakfast, and only too glad to accept K.'s offer of a lift; and then again would come this wretched fracas with these terrified and quite helpless and ignorant native drivers.

Had any one of these wretched natives, stung to indignation by the lash applied to himself and his womankind, sprung from his cart and thrust a hay-fork through K.'s body or my own, as would certainly have happened in most other countries, the wretched creature would have been tried and executed for sedition, because we were in uniform and 'on

duty'; and pompous leading articles in the London newspapers would have demanded 'firmer Government in India.'¹

VI. Smith was a keen sportsman, his principal quest being a record 'head' of antelope.

He had one failing, he was mean about money, and would never take out sufficient coolies to bring home his trophies. He would reckon on obtaining the chance services of a villager. Unfortunately he was not always very particular about paying his coolies when the spoils had been safely lodged in the verandah of his bungalow.

One day Smith was lucky enough to shoot a very good antelope on the outskirts of a village about six miles outside the Cantonment. As the coolie he had with him was already over-loaded with rifle, lunch-basket and other paraphernalia, Smith directed him to shout to an old man who was sitting outside a small Hindu Temple that belonged to the village.

But the coolie explained that the old man, though scantily clad, was a Brahmin Priest, and unable by his creed and his caste to pollute his hands with the blood from a carcass.

Smith wanted badly to get the antelope carried home before sunset; besides he was the type of Englishman to whom all scantily clothed persons must be mere coolies. In any case the old man was a 'native,' and accordingly should do as he was told.

'Brahmin be blowed--tell him to come over here and pick up the carcass, and I will give him six annas (about 6d.) if he'll carry it back to my bungalow.'

Still the coolie was doubtful. The Brahmin, he explained, was the village Priest in charge of the Temple which was dedicated to Vishnu. Vishnu, the second Person of the Hindu Trinity, particularly abhorred the shedding of blood.

Smith became very impatient. He had certainly no intention of leaving a fine trophy for the jackals to eat; and as there appeared to be nobody in the village but women and children, the coolie was ordered to fetch the old man.

But the Priest, understanding what was going to be the nature of the command, refused to move from the platform outside the Temple. Apparently it was the hour for prayer. Smith, although not in uniform, considered this an 'insult to the British Army,' besides being most provoking to himself. He proceeded to administer corporal chastisement on the astonished old Priest, before an audience of amazed and scandalized village urchins and women, who had come out on hearing Smith shouting at the old man.

Having vindicated the honour of the British Raj, Smith proceeded to the spot at which his horse and groom were to meet him. But the news of the affair had spread to the men

¹ Ibid., pp. 79-82.

of the village returning from their work; and the villagers' indignation, according to an Anglo-Indian's ideas, had passed all bounds.

Furious at having failed to recover his trophy, Smith became still more angry at the ill-looks of the villagers whom he tried to chase away. Eventually he became surrounded by an angry crowd who took away his rifle and, tying his hands behind his back, marched him back to the British Cantonment, where they handed him over to the English District Commissioner.

The Commissioner spoke sternly to the Indians, and Smith was, of course, immediately released. He was afterwards reprimanded for his tactless behavior. The two chief inhabitants of the village who had taken part in inflicting such indignity on a British officer were suitably punished.

In the circumstances it is possible that the other villagers were made to suffer indirectly, for in those days--if not today--it was woe betide a village which had been known to make itself offensive to a white Sahib. Did not the white Sahibs and their officer friends control the police, the irrigation, and the assessment for taxation? It is not well to quarrel with the Powers-that-Be!¹

Mr. Stark says with reference to the early rulers and administrators of India that

The general stamp of man coming out to India hardly improved even up to the time of Clive and Warren Hastings. Clive gambled, and did worse. Says a writer in *The Calcutta Review*, 'Hastings himself, whatever may have been his character as a political ruler, had no great title to our admiration as a moral man. He was living for years with the wife of another, . . . and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond which had long been practically disregarded, the Governor-General had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adultress with open display and festal rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of Society, when the head was thus morally diseased?'²

At the end of some of these descriptions, observations and participations that we have listed above, Numbers I to VI, Colonel Osburn writes "What an Englishman was capable of doing ten or twenty years ago in India he is almost certainly capable of doing today, provided he could do it with impunity."³ From the above incidents we can imagine what must have happened during those early pioneer days of the Company's rule when every Britisher was a law unto himself, unrestrained, adventurous, and

¹Ibid., pp. 61-64.

²Stark, op. cit., p. 22.

³Osburn, op. cit., p. 74.

reckless.

We do not, however, suppose that all the early pioneers were men of this type. There were doubtless scores of men with sterling characters in the administration, in which category we may include practically all the missionaries as far as their character and conduct are concerned. But, however, all the records go to prove that most, if not the average, Britishers in India during those "get-rich-quickly, and some how or anyhow" days, would fall into the category described by Mr. Stark, Colonel Osburn and a host of others.

F. Transportation and Its Influences

Travel often brings the distant near and makes a friend of the stranger. India has always traveled. In the past her chief incentive for travel was religious except in the case of military heroes and their armies and merchant caravans. The village people in India have been periodically undertaking long and hazardous pilgrimages from time immemorial. But the dangers involved, the hardships to be faced, time taken and other uncertainties and fears, naturally limited those who traveled on pilgrimages to the well-to-do, the adventurous, and those who had renounced all earthly ties and possessions in the quest of religious values and experiences.

But with the establishment of British rule and the subsequent development of new methods of communication, traveling began to increase. The new administrators primarily as a military necessity kept in good repair the old roads, opened new macadamized roads, railroads, and routes for river steamers and coast steamers. These new agencies began to break up the old village and provincial isolations much faster. Dangers of distant travel within the land and without were removed. Time taken to visit historic places far away and return was considerably reduced. The cost involved was cut. All this in turn enabled even the poor to take advantage of the new order of things. The disappearance of hardships of travel of the old order encouraged even the timid to travel.

After long and successful travels people returned home to their respective villages with strange and interesting tales of experiences gained in the course of the new romance of travel. Even today the locomotive engine is called the Englishman's iron horse that eats wood and coal, drinks boiling water, and runs on

wheels screaming like a demon. People who had always imagined "those people" across yon river or hill as being "so queer and different" (which was even truer about people who lived hundreds of miles away) returned home from their distant pilgrimages and travels with the conviction that after all they were not so different any longer, even though they spoke a different language, wore different garments, and observed "strange customs." Those who heard the tales of wonder, excitement and the interesting and fascinating things the travelers returning home had to narrate, naturally wished to gain such experiences and also to receive the new status of importance the travelers, in consequence of their adventures, had on their return begun to receive from their own respective groups. Peoples' minds began to be lifted above and beyond the village boundaries and with this came a corresponding extension of their interest beyond those of their own village. Things that stood out in their minds as dangers and uncertainties of distant travel under the old order of things, now under the new began to lose their terrors and instead became attractions.

Needs that were once limited by the village boundaries extended beyond them. In the olden days articles of trade filtered without any special haste from one village to another and on to the next, except those things, which for the most part were luxuries, that were carried by caravans. Now through the instrumentality of the swift methods of transportation goods traveled faster, and needs became more urgent.

While these forces were beginning to make inroads on the complacent cultural and economic isolation of India's village and provincial life, a drastic measure was adopted by the new rulers which hastened not only the break-up of the Indian village boundaries but also its unit of administration. The early British administrators devised a method to do away with the old Indian village system of administration as it had existed in the past centuries. This scheme was put into effect during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis in the days of the East India Company. It was done in pursuance of a policy to centralize the administration for the purpose of contact from the center, from the Governor-General down to the Provincial Governors and collectors, and also with an idea of transplanting into India the Land-Lord system of Great Britain.¹ We are, however, not inter-

¹W. S. Lilly, India and Its Problems, p. 185.

ested here as to the wisdom or the folly of the destruction of the village system as it has come to be called, although it is now generally accepted that it was both unwise and unfortunate because of the ill effects morally, socially, and economically that it entailed.

With the new transportation systems removing the village boundaries farther into the horizon, and now with the break-up of the village authority which was vested from time immemorial in the rule of the five village elders, the Indian village ceased to be an isolated self-sufficient miniature republic. It became instead a unit dependent on every other neighboring village, until all the villages in a province came to depend on each other. The provinces in turn went through the same process until they too became interdependent units. Thus transportation had, while on the one hand broken up the village self-sufficiency and isolation, enlarged its new boundaries to include a province, and the boundaries of the provinces in turn had become enlarged to include the whole of India.

The social and cultural influence on the Indian village life, that was brought about by the increased, swifter and safer methods of transportation, was equally significant. In the olden days those who traveled on foot, on horse-back, by bullock conveyances, and on river boats were more or less successful in keeping to their cliques, or groups, or castes without coming into too close contact with other fellow travelers who were different from them by caste, religion, vocation, race, and the like. Hence they were able to carry their exclusiveness with them in their travels. But this was not possible with the new modes of conveyances. There is no evidence to prove that the average Indian has ever been a wealthy person. Hence most Indians being not well off traveled third class, on, for example, railroads and tramways and river steamers. This not only brought people closer together as never before, but also threw them into each other's company within the narrow confines of a railway compartment or limited them to the deck space of a river steamer, sometimes for days where distant traveling was involved. The elite and well-to-do, too, although they were able to receive a little more aloofness from the rest, traveling first or second class, were nevertheless brought together closer by these same circumstances, not only with those of a similar status from other parts of India

but also closer than before to those of a much lower status.

Under such a setting people became better acquainted with others whose languages, customs, outlooks, food and the like were vastly different. The very fact of traveling away from their respective homes and loved ones induced a psychological and a sociological sympathy and affinity among travelers themselves. When people travel for any length of time in such close proximity they come often incidentally to share a great many things in common in the course of the day. The writer has observed many instances where relationships almost akin to friendships have occurred under such settings even between individuals who spoke different languages, which separation for the time being was bridged by universally understood gestures of our common early human heritage, in order to communicate with one another at various points of emergencies, chivalry and helpfulness.

The writer once saw two Indian peasants get off the train from different coaches, about sunset when the train stopped for an hour at Bangalore. It was conspicuous that these two individuals came from different parts of India and hence spoke different languages. Presently one pulled out his prayer carpet, and facing the setting sun went down on his knees and was rapidly lost in his sunset prayers. The other, much darker in complexion, being a southerner, did likewise. After the prayers were over they hugged and hugged each other as the followers of the Faithful usually do. They were both Muslims. As far as language went they were total strangers to each other save in the memorized Arabic prayers which both knew. The one from the distance was truly brought near.

Traveling third class the writer has seen Hindus and Mohammedans at prayer in the same railway compartment. He has seen people share food,--mostly fruits of course, since most Indians live on fruits, especially when traveling. Often a high caste Hindu seated in one corner of the compartment would during meal time offer something to his neighbor, and vice versa, although the instances when a high caste Hindu would invite another of a lesser degree to share something were more numerous than those instances where one of a humbler birth or social status would hesitatingly invite another of a higher degree. Thus in traveling social courtesies increase from opening the door of the compartment for one heavily laden with an Indian trunk or something

to carry out, or shouting to someone who has left behind an umbrella, to the sharing of some of one's food, which probably was the first experience of that kind with many individuals. It certainly was with everyone of a group with whom the writer traveled once from Madras to Bombay.

The writer has also observed what usually happens on river steamers on the Ganges when some of the passengers, especially the deck passengers, both Hindus of various castes and Muslims begin to prepare their meals about the same time. Sometimes the fireplaces for preparing food are braziers, other times they are steel plates with spikes on them to rest the pots, under which fire is kindled with small sticks of wood. Again in some boats there are separate cooking facilities marked "Hindu Kitchen" and "Muslim Kitchen," where members of each little group take turns at cooking their meager meals. Other times the space of the boat permits having only one place for cooking, and all who wish to use it have to take turns.

The point the writer wishes to bring out in citing these instances is not to prove that common human courtesies, thoughtfulness, chivalry, and kindness came with the introduction of railways and river steamers; but rather that by the increased facilities and inducements to travel, and with more people taking to travel, the opportunities for both sharing and also responding in these various patterns of behavior became considerably and progressively increased. News of such conduct of chivalry and courtesy, experiences and observations, traveled faster, and farther than it did before, all of which in turn began not only gradually to erase minor and the non-essential "small-town" cultural attitudes, fears, prejudices, and the like, but it also gradually increased peoples' cultural interests and knowledge, widened their sympathies, vitalized their contacts, and was instrumental in bringing about in their own minds a feeling, an idea, of a togetherness as a people, which were the initial stages of the development of a national consciousness.

G. Influences Arising Out of the Establishment of
One System of Courts of Law, Coinage, Postage
and Telegraph, and Hospitals

Our object here as elsewhere is not to inquire whether or not the establishment of these institutions has been beneficial or harmful, wise or unwise to India; but rather to find out if

their establishment has or has not contributed to the development of a national consciousness in India.

Although there have always been ways and means by which various parts of India had communicated with each other through letter-carriers and messengers, who carried messages to and from individuals, or in the company of caravans, and other trade agencies, we have no record of any organized and regular system of swift communication anywhere in the land comparable with the post and telegraph systems that were established by the new rulers.

As the new safe, quick, cheaper and regular means of transportation increased, and, as the number of people to take advantage of them also grew, peoples' contacts outside and beyond their own narrow domestic walls also increased in proportion. The new system of post and telegraph, instituted to cater primarily to the needs of the administration and secondarily to cater to the new needs of the people, further stimulated this process of communication and contact, and became both the cause and the effect of a swifter process that hastened the break-up of India's self-complacent village and provincial isolation.

Members of a village, or of a village family could now go on business adventures far away into distant fields of greater promise, and without any of the old time worry or anxiety could keep in direct touch with the folks at home through the mail and telegraph. Government employees were no longer afraid to be transferred to distant places. Some even under these happy conditions sought more lucrative posts far away from home and village. It even reduced the hardships and uncertainties in soldiering, because now men were able to have their letters to their homes written by the professional letter writers, and read at the other end by one of the village priests or by one of the members of the new profession of writing and reading letters for those who could neither read nor write. Even travel into far distant places beyond India now took on an added glamour because this new method of contact reduced thousands of miles to a few days or weeks. Furthermore it brought the distant parts of India itself closer together and also the whole of the outside world much nearer to India.

We can only surmise the unconscious social influence the use of one kind of stamp, and one coinage throughout the land,

must have had on the minds of the people in those early days. To this we have to add another factor very similar, namely the establishment of one system of courts of laws. Our purpose here is not to inquire whether or not justice has prevailed in these courts of law between Indian and British as it has between Indian and Indian, but rather to evaluate the significance of their establishment in terms of the objective of this study.

Although in certain kinds of cases where marriages and religious customs were involved the respective parties were given a hearing according to either Mohammedan or Hindu law, yet the important fact for us in this study is to note that law was administered in one system of courts that extended throughout the land. Thus to the post and telegraph stations the tutored and the untutored, the high and the low, the rich and the poor all went.

There is yet another institution that came to India with the new order of things that brought everyone under the one roof, and that was the hospital and the dispensary. Our purpose here is neither to inquire whether the medical provisions for the people of India were adequate or not, nor to describe the struggle between Western medical science and old Ayurvedic (Indian) medical practices, but rather to determine the manner in which they have been instrumental, if they have, in awaking a national consciousness in India.

Hospitals and dispensaries were opened both by the missionary agencies (who were the pioneers) and by the Government. These institutions were not organized on Indian caste or religious lines. Although the primary objective of the medical work of the missionary agencies was the hope of conversion to Christianity, yet they, as did the Government institutions, cared for the needy irrespective of their religion or social status. Patients who ordinarily would observe a social distance from their fellow countrymen of a different caste or even of a different religion would come under the healing touch of the same physician or nursing staff. The most a patient who was fastidious and who was able to pay received in an Indian hospital, should he desire to keep at a respectable distance from his fellow sufferers, was a screen about six feet high put around his bed, but his bed was in the same ward, and was under the same roof. Private rooms in Indian hospitals are of a very recent origin and are used only by

the well-to-do who comprise a very small minority of the total population of the land.

The silent influence on the mind of men and women who had come to use one kind of postage stamp, and coinage, one system of postal and telegraphic service, one system of rail and river transportation, one system of courts of law, one system of medical aid, is something that we can at best only deduce. It is apparent that these institutions brought the peoples of India into institutions they held in common, catering to needs that had now become universal all over India, needs that were no longer confined to the village family or the village group, or to those in one province either.

Summary

We have seen how India had maintained her geographic and cultural isolation in spite of the periodic invaders that came into the country from the north, including the most significant invasion of all--by the Mogul invaders, the predecessors of the British (although the latter did not come as invaders). When Britain arrived along with other European Powers, lured to India by the fame her products had won in the markets of Europe, the Mogul Power was on the wane and India, though politically weak, appears nevertheless to have been economically active and prosperous.

The British came seeking permission to trade, to establish trading posts, and to build factories. Britain, having secured these through the energies of Sir Thomas Roe from the ruling Mogul Emperor Jehangir in 1616, was later reluctantly forced to defend them on the one hand against various rival Indian Feudal Lords of the disrupted Mogul Empire, and on the other hand against intrigues and jealousies of fellow European competitors for the Indian market. In this struggle we have seen that the ethics of the day on any one side were anything but commendable. Europeans were out for gain, and the Feudal Lords were endeavoring to increase their territories and secure the newly acquired positions at all costs. In the course of a long drawn out struggle between all these forces, Britain, aided through her victories abroad over her outstanding rival France, came in due course of time to control the destinies of the peoples of India, before a new alignment of native rulers, or the emergence of a

new political power within the land as, for example, the Marahata Power, had time to consolidate its victories and become the successors of the decadent Mogul Empire.

With the establishment of British rule a new order of things was ushered in. One official language was adopted--namely English. Here the primary conditions that won the day for English were the need of clerks and copyists, as the business of the East India Company increased. There were also other reasons for the adoption of English--the presence of a multiplicity of Indian languages, the reluctance of Britishers to study a heathen language, the eagerness of the Indians to study English in order to acquire Western knowledge, the desire of missionaries with conversion as their objective, and the high Government officials' desire to anglicize India after the English cultural values and ideals, so that Indians would at least think and act as Englishmen. All of these forces combined helped to establish English as the official language.

Once English was adopted as the official language for India it became a significant instrument in the break-up of India's cultural village isolation. The easy transfer of officials, both British and Indian, who had a knowledge of the ways of the people of one province and experience in administration, from one province to another was in itself an agency for building cultural bridges. Indian officials, travelers, and others were now able to converse with their fellow Indians of other provinces who spoke a different tongue, through the medium of the new common tongue--English.

Young students coming from different provinces, or villages, speaking different languages, having different social and religious backgrounds, met on a common footing in the new school. Those who did not know each other's vernaculars soon found in English a common tongue. Soon the young intellectuals went beyond the objectives of the pioneers of Western education in India and began to delve into Western literature. Here they read and studied the history and development of European thought, ideals, social and political institutions, and the inspiring biographies of the builders of nations, welders of nationalities --men whose achievements as soldiers on land, or as sailors on the seas, or in statecraft and who by these had won the love and affection of their fellows (knitting them closer together). They

read how these men had also won the undying admiration of their rivals; and who at death were mourned by their own nations whose heroes or idols they had become, or by the nations they had brought into being. They read of poets who had sung of the land that gave them birth in terms of a parent, as "fatherland," or in other affectionate terms as some of the English poets sang of England's green and pleasant land where they would never, never be slaves, or of men who prayed and fought to

Keep our noble England whole,
And save the one true seed of freedom sown
Betwixt a people and their ancient throne.
That sober freedom--out of which there springs
Our loyal passions for our temperate Kings!
For, saving that, ye help to save mankind
Till public wrong be crumbled into dust
And drill the raw world for the march of mind,
Till crowds at length be sane and crowns be just.¹

These young intellectuals also studied the lives of the founders of political liberal thought and their writings, particularly those of British liberal idealists, their criticisms of the East Indian administration, and of India's outgrown social and religious institutions while championing India's cause against their fellow nationals, both in India and in Britain. In addition to all this material these students came under the influence of the scientific outlook and method. They saw what it had already accomplished for Europe, and they delved into Europe's already rich store of scientific knowledge of the origins of man and human society, of religions, of Gods, of the needs that gave them birth, and their functions. All these prized possessions of Western literature and learning became the common property of the young intellectuals whose numbers were rapidly increasing with every successive decade.

What the English language and European literature did for the intellectuals, new methods of transportation accomplished for the rest. Peasant India has always traveled. This traveling was done principally for religious motives, in the form of pilgrimages. There were, of course, other agencies of travel as, for example, caravans and soldiering, but by their very nature these methods of travel were limited to those who followed their respective callings. With the new methods of safer, quicker and cheaper

¹B. E. Stevenson, The Home Book of Verse, p. 3676.

transportation by rail, river, and sea coast steamers, and recently trams and motor busses, all kinds of travel increased. In addition to the old motives of travel there arose new ones. Men sought new and lucrative occupations under the new administration, and with the increase of business opportunities men traveled in search of gain and success. And gradually taboos on travel, such as crossing dark waters, began to give way.

What is most significant for us in this is that it brought the people together from all parts of India. In the olden days they kept to their cliques or families even when they traveled by way of camels or ox carts, on donkeys or on foot. The new system threw them together much closer, often confining men of various social backgrounds, or religious convictions, for days within the narrow limits of a railway compartment or the deck of a river or coast steamer. In India, wealth and social status has never coincided. Some of the poorest are high born, but the majority of the people, being poor, naturally traveled third class. There was no room thus, traveling third class, to observe social distance even if some desired to do so.

There were other new institutions that came with the dawn of the new order. These were the postal and telegraph offices, the use of a common postage and coinage, courts of law, hospitals and dispensaries. These in turn brought the high and the low, the tutored and the unlearned, the rich and the poor to a common place of meeting in the quest of a common need.

What is significant here is the fact that the new conditions that were more or less forced on India by circumstances began to bring together the diverse peoples, who, because of their various views, prejudices, taboos, inhibitions and the like, had kept hitherto more or less apart. Lastly, news in India traveled rapidly by word of mouth. Where people are illiterate and the field of books is closed to them they are prone to gossip and talk over and over again the same things of common interests, be they joys or sorrows, and the latter have the nature of lingering longer in the minds of all rural peoples. The foreigner was news by that very fact. His conduct, his behavior, what he did and said was news that traveled fast and far. The dare-devil reckless lives of both "careless" and "ruthless" men, whose sole aim was to get rich quickly by hook or by crook, and their rough inconsiderate and intemperate behavior, unkind attitudes and deal-

ings with one of the most sensitive of peoples in all the world, silently but most effectively began to influence both the masses as well as the intelligentsia of India. As the news of such incidents spread from person to person, from group to group, and from village to village, there slowly arose a sense of a common tragedy. Even those who had no social dealings with others of a different social level were touched by the cruelty, the unkindness and the insults that were meted out to them by those who have now come to be called "selfish, unrestrained, and irresponsible rough riders of British Imperialism." As more of this news material began to reach out, gradually, silently but very effectively there was aroused a determination to remedy such a calamity.

We find that great stimulations had been aroused, not only by a knowledge of new ways of satisfying old needs that have never been satisfied, but also by the technique that became available to supply the growing needs of the day. In pretty much the same way we find that great inspirations were kindled in the minds of young India alike by noble precepts and examples of administrators they came to love as well as by the powerful resentments aroused by gross wrongs, unpardonable injustices, cruelties and the ignoble conduct of the officers of the administration. But nowhere do we find a development of a racial antagonism between the British and the Indians, although there was in the very early days a dislike which appears to have been based largely on the difference of social customs and religion, but it was not on race as such. The friction as we come toward the twentieth century was caused by the growing resistance of Indian nationalism toward British nationalism and more especially toward British Imperialism.

We believe that there were many reasons for the absence of a development of a purely racial antagonism. Chief among these were from the British side. First, the fact that India was never conquered from a military point of view. Whatever conquering was done was carried out very largely by Indian soldiers themselves, who, when fully equipped and trained, proved not second to the soldiers of Britain itself. Second, the presence of powerful Feudal Lords in India itself. Third, the development of liberal political ideas in Britain which very early in the nineteenth century injected into the British mind an attitude of trusteeship over India. But long before that Macaulay, the Father of English Education in India, had declared that the happiest day

for Britain would be the day when India begins to claim British institutions and ideals as her own, all of which prepared the British mind to hope for the day when India would govern herself. Fourth, the way Indians began to excel in Western learning, distinguishing themselves at Britain's own higher institutions of learning. Fifth, the discovery of India's ancient civilizations, especially Sanskrit literature, which established the fact of Europe's Aryan racial kinship with India long before anthropology also revealed this kinship. Finally, a sixth reason may be cited without going too far off our field--the fact that the British have always looked upon India as belonging to Indians and have continued from the very beginning to look upon themselves as birds of passage, as temporary sojourners in an alien land and in an alien climate. By these reasons we do not propose to claim that no racial feelings were kindled and no such attitude existed. Indeed there were, but for the most part these appear to have been confined on both sides to the intellectually unemancipated, which the intellectuals on both sides who really set the effective standard neither saw, nor did they give it much attention.

We have seen clearly that the forces that we have described as stimulations were also at the same time disruptive forces that broke up the old order. We shall now proceed to inquire, in Part Three¹ of this study, about India's response to these stimulations, which will show us at the same time the way India began to re-organize herself to meet the needs of the new day under the great impulse of a national interest that had been thus created.

¹See the complete dissertation in the files of the University of Chicago Libraries.

PART FOUR
SOME OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THIS STUDY
AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

Problems that confront India as she faces the future are innumerable. What is needed most is a thoroughgoing scientific stock-taking. First, of India's socio-religious, economic and political heritage up to the present day. Second, a thorough scientific evaluation of this heritage in the light of the modern sciences and the needs of a modern India. Third, a thorough scientific planning for the future based on the findings of number two. But we cannot go into discussion of this more comprehensive scheme. We shall only touch on those problems that have arisen in the course of our study. Of these the two most important are the educating of the masses and the finding of sufficient food for the 62½ per cent of India's semi-starved people.

Some of the Indian States which are examples to the other Indian States (and also to British India, for that matter) have compulsory primary and secondary education. There is no reason why the whole of British India could not have compulsory primary and secondary education. If, as Professor Brij Narain and scores of others have actually shown, the food producing area during the last thirty years has increased more rapidly than the population, there is no reason why over half the population of India should be underfed and consequently exposed to the ravages of disease. It will be necessary to uncover the basic causes of these and remedy them at the source. This leads to our fundamental problems of finance and administration.

India cannot continue to have her taxes raised on the Indian scale of living and spend it on a super European basis or on a scale higher than that of the United States of America. The danger of the present system can be better understood when we realize that the average income of an Indian varies from four to five and six cents (or pennies) per day. Britain's argument for paying her administrators princely salaries is first to induce their nationals to go so far away from home, second to maintain a high standard of efficiency. She further points by way of an

excuse for such expenditures, to the shocking amounts Indian rajahs take as their share from the state revenues. To these national-political India replies that Britishers have been known to go elsewhere in the tropics with much fewer inducements, securities, comforts and luxuries; that if some of the model Indian States can be efficiently administered by Indians themselves, there is no reason why British India cannot do likewise, when as a matter of fact there are a larger proportion of able men in British India than in the Indian States; and lastly that Britain did not declare to India and the world that she had come to India to excel in the abuses of her spendthrift sons, but rather to remedy them and enable the Indian people to come to their own by championing their cause against just those very things.

This whole problem of princely salaries to Government officials beyond what India is able to pay is closely tied up with what India is called upon to pay for what national and political India, as well as outspoken British writers, have called the British army of occupation. We saw in our study that what was true of the civil administration was equally true of the army as far as it costs India. This was admitted by Sir W. T. Layton who was in charge of the Section of the Simon report dealing with India's military expenses which since the war have risen two or three times as much as for the rest of the British Empire put together (except Britain itself), even after allowing for the rise in prices. India cannot continue to bear these two burdens which involve the spending of 62½ per cent of Indian revenue on them, and consequently to have over one-third of the India revenue leave the country year after year.

The solution for this lies in the direction of first, remedying the major grievances of the people so that an army of occupation will not be necessary as an aid to prevent a revolution from within; and reducing national defence to what is absolutely necessary, and that all the Imperial forces quartered in India for the protection of the British Empire in the Orient be supported by the British Imperial Exchequer. Second, by Indianizing the civil and military establishment as fast as possible and not at "snail speed" as it has been hitherto. If every subaltern from now on is recruited from India in two or three decades, all the present British officers in the army would have finished their turn of service and their places would by then be filled by India's

own Brigadiers and Generals. What should be done with the army should also be done with the civil service. Third, salaries of all Indian officials should be overhauled and fixed according to the standard of living necessary for public officials in India, and not on a super European or an ultra-super American scale, examinations for these posts to be thrown open in India to both British and Indian candidates but to be definitely limited to those only who permanently reside in the country, and hence who are sure to have its interest and welfare at heart. India will thus be able not only to build up within a decade or two a civil service of her own as efficient as the one she has today, but also one which will administer the land in India's own interest and not in the interest of outside power. This will in turn make the British people who choose to adopt India as their home fight for her interest and uphold her honor as the forefathers of the Canadians, the South Africans, Australians and even the early Americans have done, some of whom were British subjects removed by not even one generation. Furthermore all the mature experiences of the retired civil servants will go toward enriching India's accumulating knowledge in state-craft and not let an outsider be benefited by it as has been happening for the most part until today.

Although the disappearance of caste in India is a foregone conclusion among the intellectuals and among the younger generation who are for the most part post-war products, yet it is today, and will continue to be, a factor and problem in Indian life for decades to come. On the one hand when we realize that the much loved and admired progressive Maharaja of Baroda comes from a Sudra origin, and the equally loved and farsighted ruler of Mysore has a Vaisya ancestry we can see that caste is not such a handicap to national progress; but on the other hand the struggle national-political India is having with the orthodox to open the temple doors to the depressed classes shows that it is still a problem that cannot be easily ignored. Therefore, it should be honestly faced and solved as such, with the aid of all the sociological, psychological, economic and educational sciences the nation has at its disposal today, without letting this problem drag indefinitely into the future, or waiting until the older orthodox and conservative generation is safely out of the way. But in order to wipe out untouchability new India will have to

improve radically the sanitary conditions in the land. For example, the introduction of the wash and washout system and other mechanical devices for the removing of filth and garbage, without the aid of human hands, will do more to eradicate untouchability (which literally means touch him not because he handles filth and dirt) than any other one conceivable device educational or otherwise.

The Hindu-Moslem tangle whatever its causes and stimulations have been in the past, has to be faced as squarely and as honestly as caste and the causes of fear and friction between the two communities scientifically traced to their source, and solved in the light of modern knowledge and India's national-political aspiration in a co-operative quest. Furthermore, a system of national education should be adopted, designed to weld the two communities' patriotic interests in a common national cause and political objective, as has been exemplified by the national leaders on both sides, and as it is so evident in the villages and in some of the Indian States where the two communities live side by side and where riots are unheard of things.

Britain can no longer claim to be the champion of the masses of the people against their upper class men (who had wronged them in the past) because, aside from the facts revealed through the national-political struggle, the economic history of British rule (with all the advantages and blessings that have also come which national-political India has taken for granted) reveal on the whole the contrary. She cannot continue to rule on the grounds of efficiency either, because the intellectuals claim that some of the Indian States are examples in this respect for British India. Furthermore, they say that efficiency is not the only criteria of good government, and cite in support of their claim to self-government that Britain herself will not tolerate either the Germans or the Japanese ruling Great Britain in preference to the slow-thinking and stogy way British government drifts from one blunder to another. Whatever reason Britain can cite to prolong her rule, national-political India has a ready answer. Moreover, India has come to claim that British ideals of political liberty are also hers by right, that British ideals of Justice cannot be limited in application only to Indians, but must prevail between an Indian and a Britisher or between India and any part of the Empire, that British ideals of fair play cannot be confined

to the cricket field but must be extended to economics and politics as well.

The grant of full dominion status with the choice to secede from the Empire at will might yet save the day for Britain in India and help to neutralize a great deal of the fervour that is definitely going in the direction of winning complete Independence. But the longer this is postponed the more converts will be won for the Independence Party. Two years ago there was no question of Independence in anyone's mind. National-political India's goal then was Dominion Status. It is not unlikely that two years from now, judging by the rapid way the political development has grown since the civil disobedience movement was inaugurated, there will probably be no Dominion Rule Party. It is not unlikely either that, if the British Government should accept India's claim for complete Independence, India will come to rely more upon Britain to help her, and stay with her longer as a co-worker and as a real helper and protector, but no longer as a paramount autocratic power.

But, whichever way the present situation is solved, as soon as a change is effected for the better in the present unhealthy irritating relationship that has come to exist between Britain and India (between the British rulers in India and the Indian peoples), a healthier, nobler relationship between the two countries and the two peoples, worthy of each other's dignity, is bound to emerge as between equals. This new adjustment will be a wholesome partnership in the interest of the genuine welfare of one-fifth of the human race who live in India and will in turn draw the best endeavors from both peoples and countries. When that day comes Macaulay's dream of the happiest day for Britain will have been fulfilled, and India's own crowning glory would be that she had preserved once again the British ideals of political liberty, as the early American colonies had in the eighteenth century.

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